

Message Text

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45

ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 IO-14 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20

USIA-15 NEA-10 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 OIC-04 AEC-11 OMB-01

DRC-01 /164 W

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P R 221616Z OCT 73

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 239

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USMISSION NATO

USMISSION GENEVA

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

S E C R E T VIENNA 8711

GENEVA FOR CSCE AND SALT DELS

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: US OPENING STATEMENT

REF: STATE 207791

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: IN CONVERSATION OCTOBER 20 WITH
US DEPREP AT HIS REQUEST, UK REP (ROSE) REQUESTED
FURTHER LIMITED CHANGE IN LANGUAGE OF US STATEMENT
REFERRING TO COMMON CEILING. ROSE ALSO DESCRIBED
BRITISH ATTITUDES ON TEMPE ON PLENARY SESSIONS IN
VIENNA. ACTION REQUESTED: APPROVAL OF MODIFIED
FORMULATION ON COMMON CEILING IN US OPENING STATEMENT
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IF POSSIBLE BY OPENING OF BUSINESS LOCAL TIME, WEDNESDAY,
OCTOBER 24. END SUMMARY.

2. US DEP REP INFORMED ROSE OF DEPARTMENT'S

WILLINGNESS (STATE 207791) TO ACCEPT UK SUGGESTION THAT COMMON CEILING BE EXPLICITLY MENTIONED IN US OPENING STATEMENT. ROSE EXPRESSED APPRECIATION THAT US HAD ADOPTED THIS SUGGESTION. HE SAID ON INSTRUCTION THAT LONDON WOULD HOWEVER LIKE TO SUGGEST A MODIFICATION OF THE FORMULA ON THE COMMON CEILING NOW USED IN THE AMERICAN STATEMENT WHICH READS: "AN ULTIMATE GOAL OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD BE APPROXIMATE PARITY IN THE FORM OF A COMMON CEILING ON THE GROUND FORCES OF EACH SIDE IN CENTRAL EUROPE." ROSE SAID THAT THE UK FOREIGN OFFICE WAS CONCERNED WITH THE USE OF THE TERM "PARITY" IN THIS CONTEXT AND WOULD PREFER THAT THE FORMULATION BE LIMITED TO A REFERENCE TO COMMON CEILING. UK WAS CONCERNED THAT "PARITY" WAS A TERM OPEN TO MISUNDERSTANDING. IF USED AT THIS STAGE OF DEVELOPMENT OF WESTERN IDEAS, IT COULD ENTAIL THE IMPLICATION THAT THE WEST MIGHT BE WILLING TO ACCEPT SOME WARSAW PACT SUPERIORITY IN CERTAIN FIELDS AS LONG AS THE OVERALL RESULT WAS SATISFACTORY. THE USE OF THE WORD "APPROXIMATELY" ADDED TO THIS IMPRESSION. THE UK FOREIGN OFFICE WOULD PREFER THE PHRASE "COMMON CEILING FOR GROUND FORCES OF EACH SIDE IN CENTRAL EUROPE" WITH NO MENTION OF PARITY, PREFERRING TO LEAVE FOR LATER IN THE NEGOTIATION DISCUSSION OF PARITY. THE FOREIGN OFFICE COULD NOT SEE ANY PARTICULAR MERIT OF THE USE OF THE TERM "PARITY" IN THE PRESENT CONTEXT, AND DOUBTED WHETHER IT WOULD ADD TO THE WESTERN CASE, WHEREAS THE COMMON CEILING CONCEPT WAS A CLEAR ONE AND WOULD SERVE AS AN UNAMBIGUOUS RALLYING POINT FOR WESTERN NEGOTIATORS AND THE PUBLIC.

3. US DEPREP SAID PARITY HAD BEEN USED IN THE ORIGINAL FORMULATION OF THE DRAFT STATEMENT BECAUSE THE US HAD NOT BEEN SURE OF THE TACTICAL ADVISABILITY OR THE ACCEPTABILITY TO THE ALLIES OF AN EXPLICIT REFERENCE TO THE COMMON CEILING COMING RIGHT AT THE OUTSET OF THE NEGOTIATIONS. IN ADDITION, MEMBERS OF THE US DELEGATION CONSIDERED THE PARITY CONCEPT A USEFUL SUPPLEMENTARY ARGUMENT IN
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SUPPORT OF THE COMMON CEILING CONCEPT SINCE ON ITS BASIS ONE COULD ARGUE FOR EQUITABLE TREATMENT FOR BOTH SIDES AND A ROUGH EQUALITY OF FORCES WITHOUT FALLING INTO THE TRAP OF ASKING FOR EQUALITY IN EVERY LAST ASPECT OF THE ARMED FORCES AND THEIR EQUIPMENT AND ORGANIZATION. HE ASKED ROSE WHY UK WAS NOW SO STRONGLY INTERESTED IN COMMON CEILING ASPECT AFTER EARLIER HESITANCY. ROSE REPLIED UK HAD INDEED BEEN HESITANT ABOUT COMMON CEILING IN EARLIER STAGE, BUT HAD COMPLETELY SHIFTED ITS GROUND THREE TO FOUR WEEKS AGO AS INDICATED IN THE MAJOR INSTRUCTION ON MBFR OF WHICH WASHINGTON HAD BEEN INFORMED AT THAT TIME BY THE UK EMBASSY THERE. LONDON NOW CONSIDERED THE COMMON CEILING CONCEPT TO BE JUST WHAT US AUTHORITIES HAD DEFINED IT AS, A FOCUS OR NUCLEUS FOR THE

WESTERN POSITION AROUND WHICH WE COULD ORGANIZE POLITICAL AND PUBLIC SUPPORT AS WELL AS ALLIED NEGOTIATIONS POSITION. US REP POINTED OUT THAT PRESENT LANGUAGE OF US DRAFT WAS BASED LARGELY ON PARA 24 OF AGREED NATO PAPER. ROSE AGREED, BUT POINTED OUT THAT PARA 24 CONTAINED ADDITIONAL MATERIAL PROVIDING A CONTEXT FOR THE USE OF THE TERM "PARITY" THERE. US DEPREP SAID HE WOULD TRANSMIT UK VIEWS ON THIS SUBJECT TO WASHINGTON.

4. COMMENT: WE WILL HAVE TO USE PARITY CONCEPT IN THE WAY INDICATED ABOVE DURING THE DEVELOPMENT OF THEMES STEP OF THE NEGOTIATIONS. HOWEVER, WE SEE SOME MERIT IN THE UK IDEA OF NOT COMPLICATING OR CLUTTERING UP THE ORIGINAL US PRESENTATION WITH A CONCEPT WHICH HAS TO BE DEFINED MORE CLEARLY AND GIVEN SOME CONTEXT BEFORE IT CAN BE USED EFFECTIVELY. WE THEREFORE RECOMMEND THAT THE PROPOSED UK LANGUAGE IN PARA 2 ABOVE BE SUBSTITUTED FOR PRESENT WORDING ON THIS POINT IN US STATEMENT.

5. REGARDING TERMPO OF PLENARY SESSIONS, AFTER DELIVERY OF OPENING STATEMENTS, ROSE ARGUED FOR MAXIMUM OF TWO PER WEEK AND POSSIBLY THREE PER FORTNIGHT. HE SAID IT WOULD BE NECESSARY FOR AD HOC GROUP AFTER EACH PLENARY TO ANALYZE STATEMENTS MADE BY EAST, WORK UP AD HOC GROUP RESPONSES AND POSSIBLY TO OBTAIN INSTRUCTIONS FROM CAPITALS. THIS COULD NOT BE DONE ADEQUATELY IF PLENARIES WERE TO TAKE PLACE EVERY OTHER DAY AS INFORMALLY SUGGESTED BY US DEL. UK REP ARGUED THAT IF US EXPECTS ALLIES
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TO MAKE REAL CONTRIBUTION, THREE PER FORTNIGHT SCHEDULE WOULD BE BETTER. US DEPREP EXPLAINED THAT, AD INDICATED IN ITS OPENING STATEMENT, US ENVISAGES STEADY, PACE OF PROCEEDINGS, NEITHER RUSHED NOR LEISURELY. HE SAID THREE SESSIONS PER FORTNIGHT SEEMED TO HIM TOO SLOW BUT THAT HE WOULD REPORT UK REP'S VIEWS TO US REP AND THAT MATTER COULD BE DISCUSSED FURTHER.

6. COMMENT: WE BELIEVE PACE OF 2 PLENARIES PER WEEK WILL BE ALL AD HOC GROUP CAN MAINTAIN AT LEAST AT OUTSET UNTIL IT IS BETTER RUN IN. WE THEREFORE PLAN TO GO ALONG WITH THIS CONCEPT, WHICH ROSE WILL TABLE IN FORM OF A DISCUSSION PAPER IN AD HOC GROUP ABOUT OCTOBER 24.

7. CONCERNING PARA 2 OF REFTTEL, THE REFERENCE CITED TO THE AD HOC GROUP DISCUSSION ON OCTOBER 17 (VIENNA 8580) REFERS NOT REPEAT NOT TO THE TEXT OF THE US OPENING STATEMENT, BUT TO THE TEXT OF THE PRESS HANDOUT TRANSMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT IN VIENNA 8581. REPORT IN PARA 3 OF VIENNA 8580 IS ELIPTICAL. US REP WAS AGREEING TO CHANGE A PREVIOUS FORMULATION IN THE PRESS HANDOUT WHICH BE IMPLICATION WOULD HAVE EXCLUDED

EVEN THE POSSIBILITY OF PRE-REDUCTION CONSTRAINTS TO
THE FORMULATION NOW FOUND IN THE PRESENT TEXT DIRECTLY
FOLLOWING THE DISCUSSION OF ASYMMETRIES. THE PRESENT
TEXT DOES NOT REPEAT NOT CONTAIN ANY REFERENCE TO
PRE-REDUCTION CONSTRAINTS AND READS AS FOLLOWS, "RE-
DUCTIONS SHOULD THEREFORE OCCUR IN THE CONTEXT
OF MEASURES DESIGNED TO ENSURE INCREASED STABILITY,
TO ENSURE COMPLIANCE WITH ANY AGREEMENTS, AND TO
ENHANCE WARNING IN THE EVENT OF A MILITARY BUILDUP." HUMES

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